

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 131376

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FOR POLAD

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 131376 SENT MANILA DATED JUNE 5.

QUOTE

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, PINS, RP

SUBJECT: CONGRESSMAN FRASER HEARINGS

REF: MANILA 7669

1. IN OPENING STATEMENT, JUNE 3, FRASER NOTED MARTIAL LAW HAS BECOME FIXTURE IN PHILIPPINE SOCIETY AND HAS BROUGHT WITH IT SERIOUS RESTRICTIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS. REFERRING TO HIS RECENT VISIT TO MANILA, HE SAID VERY FEW OF FILIPINOS HE TALKED TO BELIEVE MARTIAL LAW NECESSARY TODAY. MANY FILIPINOS OBJECTED STRONGLY TO CONTINUANCE OF U.S. MILITARY AID, WHICH THEY ASSERTED PROVIDES DIRECT SUPPORT TO OPPRESSIVE MEASURES OF MARCOS GOVERNMENT. FRASER REFERRED TO LONG TRADITION OF FRIENDLY U.S.-PHILIPPINE RELATIONS AND
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PAGE 02 STATE 131376

SAID IN MAINTAINING THEUE RELATIONS WE SHOULD REFRAIN FROM ANY ACTIONS WHICH WOULD PROLONG MAINTENANCE OF MARTIAL LAW AND ABSENCE OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT. OUR ACTIONS SHOULD AT ALL TIMES RESPECT INDEPENDENCE OF PHILIPPINES.

2. RAUL MANGLAPUS WAS FIRST WITNESS. REFERRING TO

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS EXISTING IN PHILIPPINES BEFORE DECLARATION OF MARTIAL LAW, HE SAID CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, TO WHICH HE WAS DELEGATE, WAS DEVELOPING "PEACEFUL

REVOLUTION" IN POLITICAL PROCESS AT SAME TIME THAT RURAL POPULACE WAS BEING POLITICIZED. ACCORDING TO MANGLAPUS, WHEN MARCOS DECLARED MARTIAL LAW, HE ARRESTED ABOUT 8,000 FILIPINOS AND SEVERAL FOREIGNERS, RAMMED PROVISION THROUGH CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION MAKING HIM DICTATOR, INCITED MUSLIMS INTO OPEN REBELLION, AND HAS SINCE HELD REFERENDA WHICH WERE MOCKERIES OF THE POPULAR WILL. MANGLAPUS CITED ABOLITION OF PHILIPPINE CONGRESS, OUTLAWING, JAILING, AND EXILING OF OPPOSITION, CLOSURE OF INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPERS AND IMPRISONMENT OF JOURNALISTS, USE OF MILITARY TRIBUNALS TO TRY CIVILIANS, AND LOSS OF INDEPENDENCE BY JUDICIARY AS CONDITIONS MAKING PHILIPPINE SITUATION WORSE THAN THAT IN ROK. CITING OPPOSITION TO MARCOS WITHIN PHILIPPINE CHURCH, MANGLAPUS REFERRED TO WEEKLY PUBLICATION BY ASSOCIATION OF MAJOR RELIGIOUS SUPERIORS OF DOCUMENTATION OF REPRESSION, TORTURE, DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL AND TERROR AND DISCONTENT BENEATH SURFACE CALM.

3. STATING THAT U.S. FOREIGN POLICY BYWORD IS STABILITY, MANGLAPUS RECALLED HE WAS SECRETARY GENERAL OF 1954 MANILA CONFERENCE AT WHICH SEATO WAS BORN "IN THE CONVICTION THAT COMMUNISM COULD BE STOPPED IN ANY GIVEN COUNTRY BY SUPPORTING GOVERNMENT, ANY GOVERNMENT, THAT DECLARED ITSELF ANTI-COMMUNIST, REGARDLESS OF CHARACTER OF ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH ITS PEOPLE." HE CONCLUDED INDOCHINA EVENTS HAVE PROVEN THAT CONVICTION A TRAGIC ILLUSION. POPULAR GOVERNMENTS, NOT BRITTLE RIGHT-WING DICTATORSHIPS, PROVIDE STABILITY THAT STOPS COMMUNISM AND SAVES AMERICAN BLOOD AND MONEY. XAMPLES: THAILAND, INDIA, CEYLON, MALAYSIA. NEUTRALISM "COULD BE TURNED INTO A VIRTUE IF RECOGNITION LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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PAGE 03 STATE 131376

IS MADE OF THE AUTOMATIC CONTRIBUTION THAT A COUNTRY, SIMPLY BY MAINTAINING ITSELF AS A STABLE DEMOCRACY, CAN MAKE TO THE CAUSE OF AMERICAN SECURITY AND WORLD PEACE ... CONTINUED MILITARY SUPPORT FROM UNITED STATES WILL PROLONG THE LIFE OF THE DICTATORSHIP BUT IT CANNOT POSTPONE FOREVER A FINAL RECKONING WITH THE PEOPLE." THE SOONER MILITARY AID IS WITHDRAWN AND THE RECKONING SPEEDED, THE LESS BLOOD WILL BE SHED AND THE MORE GOODWILL FOR AMERICA WILL BE CONSERVED.

4. NEXT WITNESS WAS FATHER BRUNO HICKS, FRANCISAN WHO HAD BEEN WORKING AS EDUCATIONAL MISSIONARY ON NEGROS

ISLAND, WITH SPECIAL INTEREST IN AGRARIAN REFORM AND HAD BEEN ARRESTED AND DEPORTED FOLLOWING DECLARATION OF MARTIAL LAW. HICKS TOLD OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCES AND CONTACTS IN NEGROS AND MANILA DETENTION CAMPS AND STATED MOST DETAINEES WERE NOT INSURRECTIONISTS BUT PROGRESSIVE LEADERS CONCERNED

WITH SOCIAL JUSTICE AND GREATER HONESTY AND INTEGRITY IN GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS. HICKS STATED "I KNOW FOR A FACT THAT THE PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT HAS A SET POLICY OF USING TORTURE TO EXTRACT INFORMATION FROM ALL ARRESTED SUSPECTS." HE DEVOTED CONSIDERABLE PORTION OF HIS STATEMENT TO DEPRIVATION OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS, REFERRING TO ROY PROSTERMAN'S JUDGMENT THAT LAND REFORM PROGRAM HAS FAILED AND TO CURTAILMENT OF LABORERS' RIGHT TO STRIKE. HICKS STATED BELIEF THAT U.S. MILITARY AID CONSTITUTES IMPLICIT APPROVAL OF GOP REPRESSIVE MEASURES AND IS ALIENATING THE FILIPINO PEOPLE FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. "THE U.S. MILITARY CONTRIBUTION IS, IN SOME SENSE, DRIVING THE PHILIPPINE FROM A STATE OF LIMITED INSURGENCY TO OUT AND OUT CIVIL WAR."

5. IN CONCLUSION, HICKS MADE FOLLOWING RECOMMENDATIONS TO SUB-COMMITTEE: A) REFUSE TO APPROPRIATE ANY MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO THE MARCOS GOVERNMENT; B) EMBARGO ARMS SALES TO GOP UNTIL BASIC FREEDOMS ARE RESTORED; C) GIVE NO CONSIDERATION TO PAYING RENT FOR MILITARY BASES; D) CONSIDER A TRADE EMBARGO AGAINST THE PHILIPPINES; E) CONSIDER GIVING UP THE BASES, WHICH ARE A THREAT TO OUR OWN SECURITY AND ARE ALIENATING AMERICA FROM MAJORITY OF FILIPINOS; LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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PAGE 04 STATE 131376

F) INVESTIGATE THE CONDUCT OF AMERICAN CORPORATIONS IN THE PHILIPPINES.

6. FINAL WITNESS WAS FATHER JOSEPH O'HARE, S.J., ASSOCIATE EDITOR OF AMERICA AND FORMER FACULTY MEMBER OF ATENEO DE MANILA. HE ALLUDED TO MASSIVE AMERICAN MILITARY AND ECONOMIC PRESENCE IN PHILIPPINES AND SAID QUESTION IS NOT WHETHER U.S. INTERFERES WITH OR INFLUENCES PHILIPPINE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS; ONLY QUESTION IS HOW? O'HARE'S ANSWER IS THAT BY CONTINUING TO BE PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF ARMS TO MARCOS, WE HAVE ASSISTED IN CONTINUED REPRESSION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES AND CONSOLIDATED A DICTATORSHIP IN A NATION WITH TRADITION OF PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY. AS SHOWN BY VIETNAM, SUPPORT OF STABILITY IN WORLD OF CHANGE WILL PROVE SELF-DEFEATING WHEN IT MEANS CONTINUED SUPPRESSION OF PEOPLE'S ASPIRATIONS FOR ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION. THE PHILIPPINE PEOPLE SHOULD DECIDE WHAT FORM OF GOVERNMENT THEY WISH AND U.S. CONGRESS SHOULD SEE THAT AMERICAN TAXES ARE NOT USED TO PREVENT FILIPINOS FROM MAKING THOSE DECISIONS. MARCOS' NEW SOCIETY

HAS NOT DEMOCRATIZED NATIONAL WEALTH AND POWER BUT MERELY SHIFTED CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH FROM ONE GROUP TO ANOTHER. BECAUSE OF ITS FUNDAMENTAL BELIEF IN HUMAN DIGNITY, PHILIPPINE CHURCH HAS BEEN CONSISTENTLY CRITICAL OF SUPPRESSION OF INFORMATION MEDIA, DETENTION WITHOUT CHARGE

OF POLITICAL PRISONERS, ATMOSPHERE OF FEAR, AND BRUTALIZATION OF MILITARY. WHILE CITING TORTURE AS DELIBERATE POLICY WOULD BE UNFAIR, SUCH OUTRAGES INEVITABLE ONCE EMERGENCY MEASURES HARDENED INTO A WAY OF LIFE. PAST AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD PHILIPPINES WERE PATERNALISTIC AND TO REFUSE TO RECOGNIZE GENUINE PHILIPPINE WILL TO SELF-RULE "MAY BE ULTIMATE CONDESCENSION AND FINAL BETRAYAL."

7. FOLLOWING INITIAL PRESENTATIONS, WITNESSES ANSWERED FRASER QUESTIONS AS FOLLOWS:

A. ALL AGREED THAT MILITARY IS BEING CORRUPTED AND IS FLAUNTING NEW WEALTH;

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PAGE 05 STATE 131376

B. REGARDING JUSTIFICATION FOR MARTIAL LAW, HICKS FELT THERE WAS NO JUSTIFICATION FOR UNIVERSAL APPLICATION. O'HARE BELIEVED URBAN UNREST MAY HAVE BEEN FOMENTED BY AGENTS PROVOCATEURS. MANGLAPUS CHARGED MARCOS DELIBERATELY PLANNED EVENTS AS MEANS OF RETAINING POWER;

C. REGARDING PROBABLE DURATION OF MARTIAL LAW, WITNESSES FELT LONGER PRESENT SITUATION CONTINUES, GREATER THE DANGER OF BLOODY REVOLUTION. MANGLAPUS WARNED THAT IF MILITARY AID NOT CUT SOON, MARCOS COULD DEVELOP ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF SUPPLY FROM PRC AND USSR AND THEN BE INVULNERABLE TO U.S. INFLUENCE.

8. CONGRESSMAN WOLFF ASKED HOW MANY FOREIGN PRIESTS HAVE BEEN EXPELLED AND WHY. HICKS THOUGHT TOTAL WAS FOUR BUT DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN EXPLANATION. O'HARE MENTIONED GERLOCK CASE AND SAID PRIESTS BEING URGED TO LEAVE SOCIAL ACTION WORK FOR MORE INNOCUOUS MINISTRIES. WOLFF COMMENTED THAT HE HAD BEEN APPALLED BY DETERIORATION OF POLITICAL PROCESS IN PHILIPPINES PRIOR TO MARTIAL LAW AND NOTED THAT CORRUPTION HAD EXISTED FOR LONG TIME.

GOM IN ANSWER TO WOLFF QUESTION, HICKS SAID HE FAVORED ABOLITION OF ALL MILITARY-RELATED ASSISTANCE AND ALSO AGRARIAN ASSISTANCE. MUCH OF LATTER IS COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE AND USED FOR REPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE. WOLFF COMMENTED THAT WE MUST GET MESSAGE TO MARCOS THAT U.S. DOES NOT

SIT IDLY BY WHEN HUMAN RIGHTS ARE REPRESSED BUT AT SAME TIME WE SHOULD NOT DENY U.S. FRIENDSHIP TO THE PHILIPPINE PEOPLE. O'HARE STATED UNEASINESS OVER IMPACT ON THE POPULACE OF END TO MILITARY AID AND BELIEVED ECONOMIC AID SHOULD BE CHanneLED TO AID THE PEOPLE, NOT THE REGIME.

10. WOLFF DISAGREED WITH HICKS PROPOSAL TO TERMINATE NARCOTICS PROGRAM, POINTING OUT THAT PHILIPPINES A POTENTIALLY VULNERABLE AREA.

11. FRASER ASKED IF WITNESSES WOULD FAVOR U.S. DISBNGAGEMENT FROM PHILIPPINES. MANGLAPUS SAID TERMINATION OF MILITARY AID WOULD GIVE PSYCHOLOGICAL ENCOURAGEMENT TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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PAGE 06 STATE 131376

THE POPULACE. SINCE MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY WAS INTENDED TO DEFEND DEMOCRACY IN THE PHILIPPINES, IT TOO SHOULD BE SCRAPPED SINCE MARCOS REGIME IS UNDEMOCRATIC. HICKS SAID U.S. BASES ARE THREAT TO U.S. SECURITY SINCE THEY THREATEN TO DRAW US INTO VIETNAM-LIKE CIVIL WAR. WOLFF REMARKED THAT DISCUSSION WAS GETTING FAR AFIELD FROM HUMAN RIGHTS AND THAT INSTEAD OF TALKING ABOUT REMOVING BASES, WE SHOULD BE TELLING MARCOS TO RELAX CONDITIONS.

12. FRASER THEN MADE CONCLUDING STATEMENT. HE EXPRESSED SKEPTICISM ABOUT U.S. ABILITY TO EFFECT CHANGE IN OTHER COUNTRIES. THE BEST WE CAN HOPE FOR IS TO PUT SOME DISTANCE BETWEEN OURSELVES AND THE PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT. WE CANNOT TELL OTHER COUNTRIES WHAT KIND OF GOVERNMENT THEY SHOULD HAVE BUT OUR INTRESTS SHOULD CENTER ON THE WELFARE OF THEIR PEOPLE.

13. HEARING WILL BE CONTINUED ON JUNE 5. KISSINGER
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